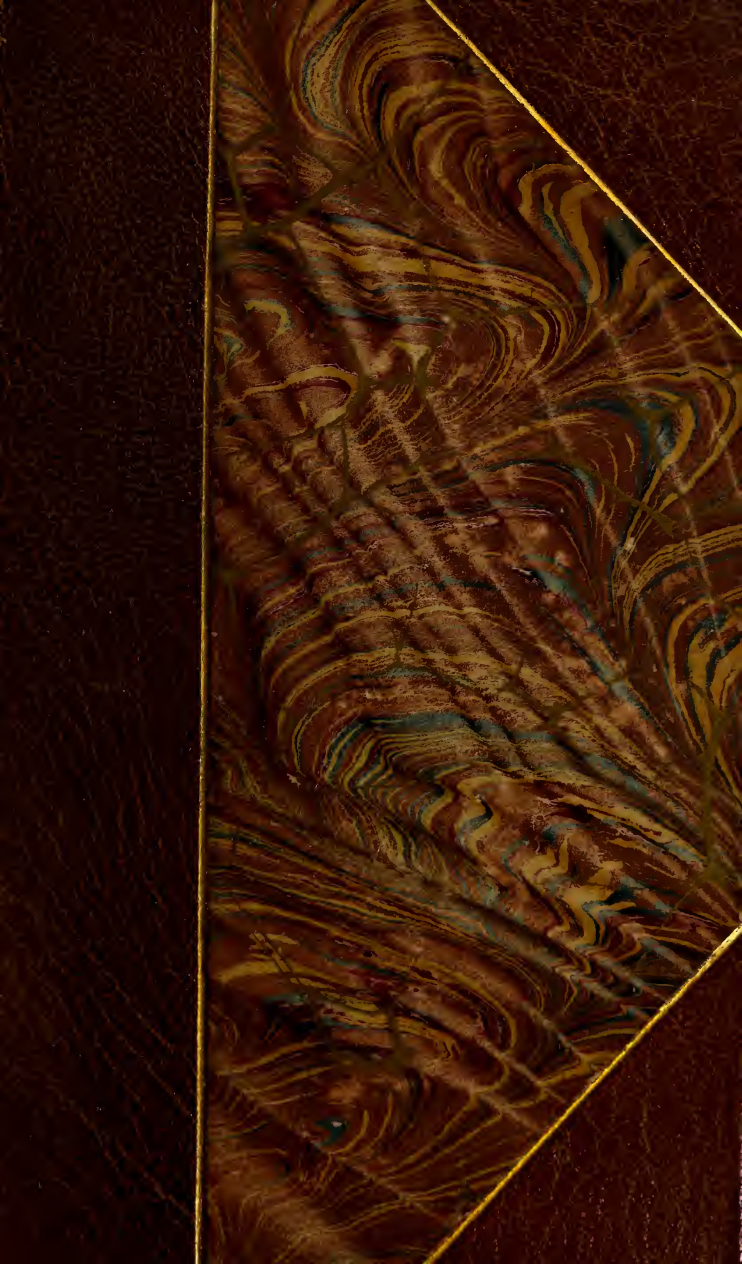




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HISTORY OF EUGENE ARAM, WHO WAS CONVICTED AT YORK ASSIZES, OF THE **MURDER of DAN^L. CLARK** OF KNARESBOROUGH,

Fourteen Years after the Crime was committed.

Giving an account how he was executed at Tyburn, and afterwards hung in chains in Knaresborough Forest. The respectable sphere of life in which he acted, when accused of the crime—his wife the principal witness against him. Singular and

TALENTED DEFENCE

he made on his trial—his own account of himself, written after his condemnation—his attempt at self destruction, just previous to his execution; with other interesting particulars of this extraordinary character.



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HISTORY

EUGENE A. HAM

MURDER OF SAM. J. CLARK

OF KANSAS

THE STORY OF THE CASE

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THE STORY OF THE CASE

EUGENE ARAM.

THE trial of that extraordinary person, EUGENE ARAM, with the account of his Life, written by himself while under sentence of death, will, it is presumed, be interesting to the reader, and not without its moral. Eugene Aram devoted all his leisure time in intense study; he became master of several languages, and read the works of most of the celebrated ancient authors in their originals—he was also a lover of poetry, history, and antiquities, and was delighted with the extensive display of nature which the fascinating study of botany afforded him. That a man of such erudition, taste, and feeling should be guilty of so horrible a crime as murder seems an anomaly in nature. The limits of this publication, however, will not allow of room for remarks, and we proceed at once to the subject proposed, and leave the reader to his own reflections.

Daniel Clark was born in Knaresborough, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoemaker. About the month of January, 1744-5, he married a wife with a fortune of £200, or upwards; and being then in very good credit in Knaresborough, it was presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a schoolmaster in that town, and Richard Houseman, a flaxdresser, to defraud several persons of goods and plate, and that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for, as he then lived in very good credit, and was lately married, he was the properest person for the intended purpose: accordingly, Clark, for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresborough, and took up great quantities of linen and woollen drapery goods, under pretence that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only clothes to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed linen; in which he succeeded so well, that he obtained goods to a considerable amount.

Some suspicious circumstances appearing that night

and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon enquiry, it could not be learnt what had become of him. Search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the goods were found at Houseman's, and another part, some velvets, &c. was dug up in Aram's garden.

From the above circumstances, Aram was suspected of being an accomplice with Clark; upon which a process was granted from the Steward of the Honour of Knaresborough, to arrest him for a debt due to one Mr. Norton, which was done with a view to detain Aram until such time as a warrant could be had from a justice of peace, to take him up for being concerned along with Clark, in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Contrary to the expectation of every person in the town, he (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced a large sum of money, and in a few days paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his releasement he left the town of Knaresborough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresborough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered, touching Clark's been murdered, until the first of August, 1758, (upwards of 13 years from the time of Clark's being missing) when it happened that a labourer, employed in digging for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-hill, near Knaresborough, having, at the edge of the cliff, dug about a yard and half a quarter deep, found an arm-bone, and the small-bone of the leg of a human skeleton. In digging forward, he discovered all the rest of the bones belonging to the body, which, by the position of it, seemed to have been put in double, as the bones were all entire. This remarkable accident being rumoured in the town

of Knaresborough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered and buried there; and the rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge, for upwards of 60 years. The strangeness of the event excited people's curiosity to enquire strictly into it: the coroner was sent for, and an inquest held. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, was now examined by the coroner and the jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark.

She said, ' Daniel Clark was an intimate acquaintance of her husband's; and that they had frequent transactions together before Feb. 8, 1744-5, and that Richard Houseman was often with them: particularly on Feb. 7, about six o'clock in the evening, Aram came home when she was washing in the kitchen; upon which he directed her to put out the fire, and make one above stairs: she accordingly did so. About 2 in the morning on the 8th of February, Aram, Clark, and Houseman came to Aram's house, and went up stairs to the room where she was: they staid about an hour. Her husband asked her for an handkerchief for Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) to tie about his head: she accordingly lent him one. Then Clark said, *It will soon be morning, and we must get off*. After which, Aram, Houseman, and Clark all went out together: that, upon Clark's going out, she observed him take a sack or wallet upon his back, which he carried along with him: whither they went she could not tell. That about 5 o'clock the same morning, her husband and Houseman returned, and Clark did not come with them. Her husband came up stairs and desired to have a candle, that he might make a fire below. She objected, and said there was no occasion for two fires, as there was a good one in the room above, where she then was. Her husband answered, Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) was below, and did not choose to come

up stairs: upon which she asked (Clark not returning with them) what they had done with Daniel? to this her husband gave no answer; but desired her to go to bed, which she refused; and told him they had been doing something bad. Then Aram went down with the candle. She being desirous to know what her husband and Houseman were doing, and being about to go down stairs, she heard Houseman say to Aram, She is coming. Her husband replied, We'll not let her. Houseman then said, If she does, she'll tell. What can she tell? replies Aram, poor simple thing! she knows nothing. To which Houseman said, If she tells that I am here, it will be enough. Her husband then said, I will hold the door to prevent her from coming. Whereupon Houseman said, something must be done to prevent her telling, and pressed him to it very much; and said, If she does not tell now, she may at some future time. No, said her husband, we will coax her a little until her passion be off, and then take an opportunity to shoot her: upon which Houseman seemed satisfied, and said, What must be done with her clothes? whereupon they both agreed, that they should let her lie where she was shot in her clothes. She hearing this discourse was much terrified, but remained quiet, until near seven o'clock in the same morning, when Aram and Houseman went out of the house. Upon which, Mrs. Aram coming down stairs, and seeing there had been a fire below, and all the ashes taken from out of the grate, she went and examined the dunghill; and perceiving ashes of a different kind to lie upon it, she searched amongst them, and found several pieces of linen and woollen cloth, very near burnt, which had the appearance of belonging to wearing apparel. When she returned into the house from the dunghill, she found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman the night before; and looking at it, found some blood upon it, about the size of a shilling: upon which she immediately went to Houseman, and shewed him the

pieces of cloth she had found, and said, She was afraid they had done something bad to Clark. But Houseman then pretended he was a stranger to her accusation, and said, he knew nothing what she meant. From the above circumstances, she believes Daniel Clark to have been murdered by Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram, on the 8th of February, 1744-5.

Mr. John Yeates, a barber in Knaresborough, said, He knew Daniel Clark, and the last time he saw him was then about 13 or 14 years ago, and that he had been missing ever since. Some time after which, as he, Mr. Yeates, was going over Thistle-hill, near the rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug and oblong; he presumed it might contain a boy of about 12 years of age; that he had seen the place where the bones of a man were found, and said it was the same he saw so fresh dug up. Letham, gave similar evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock, of Knaresborough, surgeons, upon breaking a thigh-bone of the skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion, that the body might have lain in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

Upon the skeleton's being produced, Houseman, at the Coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and, in his confusion, dropped this unguarded expression, This is no more Dan Clark's bone than it is mine! from which it was concluded, that if Houseman was so certain that the bones before him were not Dan Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so, he answered, ' That he could produce a witness who had seen Daniel Clark upon the road, two or three days after he was missing at Knaresborough. Accordingly the witness (one Parkinson) was sent for, who, on being asked the question, told the coroner and the jury, That he had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the 8th of February, 1744-5; that a friend of his (Parkinson's) told him he had met a person like Daniel Clark; but as it was a snowy day, and the person had the cape of his great

coat up, he could not say, with the least degree of certainty, who he was.

This so far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houseman was either the murderer of Clark, or an accomplice in the murder : whereupon the constable applied to William Thornton, Esq. who being informed, from the coroner, of the depositions taken, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined : here he said, He was in company with Daniel Clark the night before he went off, which he believes might be on a Thursday in February, 1744-5 ; that the reason of his being then with him was upon account of some money, (viz. £20) that he had lent Clark, which he wanted to get again of him, and for which he then gave him some goods that took up a considerable time in carrying from Daniel Clark's house to his, viz. from eleven (the hour at which he went to Clark) till some time the next morning : that the goods he took were leather, and some linen cloth, which, as soon as he had possessed himself of, and also a note of the prices he was to sell them at, he left Clark in Aram's house, with Aram and another man, unknown to this examinant : who further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately after, followed him out of Aram's house, and went into the market-place with the other unknown person, which the light of the moon enabled him to see ; that he does not know what became of them after : and utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house that morning with Aram and without Clark, as is asserted by Mrs. Aram, nor was he with Aram, but with Clark at Aram's house that night, whither he went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the note as above ; that when he had lodged the goods he had got at Clark's house safely in his own, he went to seek Clark, found him at Aram's with the unknown person, and after having procured the note, which was his errand, came away directly, as was re-

lated. He further saith, that he did not see Clark take any wallet, plate, or things of value along with him, when they came out of the house the last time, which was early in the morning. But admits, that some time after Clark was missing, Anna Aram came to him in a passion, and demanded money of him, and said he had money of her husband's in his hands, and pretended to shew him such shreds of cloth, and asked if he knew what they were? to which he answered, that he did not know, And utterly denies that he ever has been charged with the murder of Daniel Clark, till now by Anna Aram,

Being asked if he chose to sign this examination? he said, he chose to waive it for the present; for he might have something to add, and therefore desired to have time to consider of it.

As he chose not to sign this examination, it was presumed that he was conscious he had not declared the truth of the matter, and Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him to York castle the morning following. At Greenhammerton, in the road to York, he behaved to his conductors in such a manner as to shew that he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it, and that he was desirous of making a more ample confession on their arrival at York. Being come to the Minster, in Micklegate, they were acquainted that Mr. Thornton was then passing by; Houseman desired he might be called into the house, and in his presence made the following confession: That Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene Aram, late of Knaresborough, a school-master, and, as he believes, on Friday the 8th of Feb. 1744-5, for that Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark were together at Aram's house early that morning (being moon-light, and snow upon the ground) and that he (Houseman) left the house and went up the the street a little before, and they called to him, desiring he would go a short way with them, and he accordingly went along with them to a place called St. Robert's Cave, near Grimble-bridge, where Aram and Clark stopped,

and there he saw Aram strike him several times over the breast and head, and saw him fall as if he were dead, upon which he came away and left them. But whether Aram used any weapon or not to kill Clark, he could not tell ; nor does he know what he did with the body afterwards ; but believes that Aram left it at the mouth of the cave ; for that, seeing Aram do this, lest he might share the same fate, he made the best of his way from him, and got to the bridge end, where, looking back, he saw Aram coming from the cave side (which is a private rock adjoining the river) and could discern a bundle in his hand, but did not know what it was ; upon this he hasted away to the town, without either joining Aram, or seeing him again till the next day, and from that time to this he never had any private discourse with him. Afterwards, however, Houseman said that Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's cave, and that he was sure it was then there, but desired it might remain till such time as Aram should be taken. He added further, that Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the cave, These words Houseman repeated the day after to Mr. Barker, the constable.

On Houseman's commitment to the Castle, proper persons were appointed to examine St. Robert's Cave ; where, agreeable to his confession, was found the skeleton of a human body, the head lying as he before had said : upon which a coroner's inquest was taken,

Houseman having declared that Clark was murdered by Aram, who, upon inquiry, was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk, Mr. Thornton issued his warrant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker and Mr. Francis Moor, the constables of Knaresborough, to Sir John Turner, a justice of peace in Lynn. On their arrival, they waited on this gentleman, who indorsed the warrant ; and Aram was apprehended in a school where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire, Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, he confessed, That he was well acquainted with Daniel

Clark ; and to the best of his remembrance, it was about, or before the 8th of February, 1744-5 ; but utterly denied he had any connection with him in those frauds which Clark stood charged with at or before the time of his disappearance, which might be about the 10th of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested by process for debt : that, during the time of his being in custody, he first heard that Clark was missing ; that, after his release, he was apprehended by a warrant from a justice of peace for a misdemeanor ; but appearing before the justice, and the charge not being made out against him, he was dismissed : after this he continued at Knaresborough a considerable time, without any molestation ; and then he removed to Nottingham, to spend a few days with his relations, from whence he went to London. There he resided publicly till he came down to Lynn, which was about seven months before he was arrested by warrant, on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark. He admits that he might be with Clark in February, 1744-5 ; but does not recollect that he was at Mr. Carter's, who keeps a public-house in Knaresborough, with a Jew, Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, and Daniel Clark, about twelve o'clock at night, on the 7th of February, 1744-5 ; nor does he recollect he was in company with Clark & Houseman, after two o'clock in the morning, at any particular time or place, in February, 1744-5, nor at or after three o'clock in the morning, nor at Grimble-bridge ; nor at or near a place called St. Robert's Cave, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning ; nor does he know any thing of Clark's being murdered ; nor does he recollect that he was with Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon William Tuton, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning ; nor does he remember any thing of a mason's tool being found in his own house, when arrested by a warrant, 1744-5 ; nor does he remember of meeting Mr. Barnett, or seeing him in company with the abovesaid persons, the 8th

of February, 1744-5, in the morning ; nor does he remember that he came home that morning at 5 o'clock, with Houseman, and made a fire for them in his own house, which is asserted by his wife ; nor does he remember that he had so great a sum of money as fifty guineas about that time, or pulled any such sum out of his pocket ; nor did he seek to suborn or ask any one person to say that he had seen Clark since the 8th of February, 1744-5, who really had not seen him ; but true it was, that he has often made inquiry about him, and particularly his brother, Stephen Aram, but does not recollect any other person, except another brother of his, Henry Aram, who has said that he saw him ; nor does he know where it was those brothers say they saw him. The declaration of other circumstances, and the signing this examination he choses to waive, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and least any thing should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him. It was thought proper, however, to commit him, and upon being a second time examined, said, That he was at his own house the 7th of February, 1744-5, at night, when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some plate, and both of them went for more several times, and came back with several pieces of plate, of which Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours : that he could not but observe, that Houseman was all that night very diligent to assist him to the utmost of his power, and insisted that this was Houseman's business that night, and not the signing any instrument, as is pretended by Houseman. That Henry Terry, then of Knaresborough, ale-keeper, was as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark ; but was not now at Aram's house, because it was market-day, his absence from his guests might have occasioned suspicion : that Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver tankards that night upon Clark's account, which had been fraudently obtained : and that Clark so far from having borrowed twenty pounds of Houseman, to his

knowledg never borrowed more than nine pounds, which he had paid again before that night

That all the leather Clark had, which amounted to a considerable value, he well knows was concealed under flax in Houseman's house, with intent to be disposed of by little and little, in order to prevent suspision of his being concerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark and Houseman did the watches, rings, and several small things of value, and carried them into the flat, where they and he (Aram) went together to St. Robert's Cave, and beat most of the plate flat; it was thought too late in the morning, being about four o'clock on the 8th of February, 1744-5, for Clark to go off so as to get to any distance, it was therefore agreed he should stay there till the night following, and Clark accordingly staid there all day, as he believes, they having agreed to send him victuals, which were carried to him by Henry Terry, he being judged the most likely person to do it without suspicion, for as he was a shooter, he might go thither under the pretence of sporting: that the next night, in order to give Clark the more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard Houseman, and himself, went down to the cave very early; but he (Aram) did not go in, or see Clark at all; that Richard Houseman and Henry Terry only went into the cave, he staying to watch, at a little distance on the outside, lest any body should surprise them.

That he believes they were beating some plate, for he heard them make a noise; they staid there about an hour, and then came out of the cave, and told him that Clark was gone off. Observing a bag they had along with them, he took it in his hand, and saw that it contained plate. On asking why Daniel did not take the plate along with him? Terry and Houseman replied, that they had bought it of him, as well as the watches, and had given him money for it, that being more convenient for him to go off with, as less cumbersome and dangerous. After which they all three went

into Houseman's warehouse, and conceal'd the watches with the small plate there, but that Terry carried away with him the great plate: that afterwards Terry told him he carried it to Howhill, and hid it there, and then went into Scotland, and disposed of it: but as to Clark, he could not tell whether he was murdered or not, he knew nothing of him, only that they told him he was gone off.

After he had signed this second confession, he was conducted to York Castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram, there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair, and he likewise was committed to the Castle. Bills of indictment were found against them: but it appearing to the court upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till the Lammas assizes.

On the 3d of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the bar. Houseman was arraigned on his former indictment, acquitted, and admitted evidence against Aram, who was thereupon arraigned. Houseman deposed, That in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, about eleven o'clock, he went to Aram's house: that after two hours spent in passing to and fro between their several houses, to dispose of several goods, and to settle some notes concerning them, Aram proposed first to Clark and then to Houseman, to take a walk out of town: that when they came into the field where St. Robert's Cave is, Aram and Clark went into it over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards of the cave he saw them quarrelling: that he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again. That he saw no instrument Aram had, and knew not that he had any: that upon this, without any interposition or alarm, he left them and returned home: that the next morning he went to Aram's house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night, and what he had done with him; Aram replied not to this question; but threatned him if he spoke of being in Clark's company that night; vowing revenge either by himself or some other person, if he told any thing relating to the affair.

Peter Moor, (Clark's servant) deposed, That a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune. That upon his return he went to Aram's house, where the witness then was: upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, How do you do, Mr, Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success? To which Clark replied, I have received my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it was with difficulty I got it. Upon which Aram said to Clark, (Houseman being present) Let us go up stairs; accordingly they went; upon which the witness returned home.

Thomas Barnet deposed, That on the 8th of February, about one in the morning, he saw a person come out from Aram's house, who had a wide coat on, with the cape about his head, and seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat, and perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias a good morning.

John Barker, the constable who executed the warrant granted by Mr. Thornton, and indorsed by Sir John Turner, deposed, That at Lynn, Sir John Turner, and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked him if he knew Knaresborough? he replied, No. And he being further asked, If he had any acquaintance with one Dan. Clark? he denied that he ever knew such a man. The witness then entered the school, and said, How do you do, Mr. Aram? Aram replied, How do you do, Sir? I do not know you. What! said the witness, Don't you know me?—don't you remember Daniel Clark and you had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresbro'? Upon this he recollected the witness, and owned his residence there. The witness then asked him, If he did not know St. Robert's Cave? He answered, Yes. The witness replied, Aye, to your sorrow.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Locock, the surgeon who produced it, said, that no such breach could proceed from any natural decay; that it was not a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years standing.

After these several depositions, Aram was asked wha

he had to say in his behalf, and begged that he might be indulged in reading his defence. The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original.

ARAM'S DEFENCE.

MY LORD,—I know not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your lordship, that I am allowed the liberty at this bar, and at this time, to attempt a defence, incapable and uninstructed as I am to speak. Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so numerous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention and filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour not with guilt, my lord, but with perplexity. For having never seen a court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the customs of the bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little capable of speaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

I have heard, my lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myself charged with the highest crime; with an enormity I am altogether incapable of; a fact, to the commission of which there goes far more insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I stand indicted at your lordship's bar, and having heard what is called evidence adduced in support of such a charge, I very humbly solicit your lordship's patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable audience, while I, single and unskilful, destitute of friends, and unassisted by counsel, say something, perhaps like argument, in my defence. I shall consume but little of your lordship's time; what I have to say will be short, and this brevity, probably, will be the best part of it; however, it is offered with all possible regard, and the greatest submission to your lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable court.

First, my lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life contradicts every particular of the indictment. Yet had I never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my lord, I concerted no schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property; my days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent, or unseasonable; but, at least, deserving some attention, because, my lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately,

and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things. Mankind is never corrupted at once; villainy is always progressive, and declines from right, step after step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of all moral obligation totally perishes.

Again, my lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health; for but a little space before I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly, and in part; but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant? I, past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact; without interest, without power, without motive, without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but, when its springs are laid open, it appears that it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury, to satisfy some avarice, or oblige some malice; to prevent some real, or some imaginary want; yet I lay not under the influence of any of these. Surely, my lord, I may, consistently with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

In the second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead. But the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and the fallibility of all conclusions of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious to require instances. Yet, superseding many, permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle.

In June, 1757, William Thompson, for all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and double-ironed, made his escape; and, notwithstanding an immediate enquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisement, was never seen or heard of since. If then Thompson got off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? But what would be the thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with Thompson?

Permit me next, my lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said, which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the skeleton of a man. It is possible indeed it may; but is there any certain known criterion, which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones? Let it be

considered, my lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to indentify them.

The place of their depositum too claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it. For, of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than a hermitage; except he should point out a church yard. Hermitages, in time past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too; and it has scarce or never been heard of, but that every cell, now known, contains or contained these relics of humanity, some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind, your lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, they here enjoyed when living.

All the while, my lord, I am sensible this is known to your lordship, and many in the court better than to me. But it seems necessary to my case, that others who have not at all, perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and may have concern in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my lord, to produce a few of many evidences, that these cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few, in which human bones have been found, as it happened in this question; lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and consequently occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as was supposed, of the Saxon, St. Dubritius, were discovered, buried in his cell at Guy's Cliff, near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

2 The bones thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.

3. But my own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for in January, 1747, were found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman, the bones in part, of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholm, near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholm, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.

4. In February, 1744, part of Woburn Abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had lain above 200 years, and much longer is doubtful; for this Abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538, or 1539. What would you have said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question?

Further, my lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that at a little distance from Knaresborough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriotic baronet, who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in

digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at its head, as your lordship knows was usual in ancient interments.

About the same time, and in another field, almost close to this borough, was discovered also, in searching for gravel, another human skeleton; but the piety of the same worthy gentleman ordered both pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? whereas in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My lord, almost every place conceals such remains. In fields, in hills, in highway sides, and in commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones. And our present allotments for rest for the departed, are but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury; which is that perhaps no example occurs of more than *ONE* skeleton being found in one cell; and in the cell in question was found but *ONE*; agreeable in this, to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my lord, to attempt to identify these, when even to identify living men sometimes has proved so difficult, as in the case of Perkin Warbeck, and Lambert Symnel at home, and of Don Sebastian abroad, will be looked upon, perhaps, as an attempt to determine what is indeterminable. And I hope too, it will not pass unconsidered here, where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity, what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to those bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal Omniscience.

Permit me, my lord, also very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's naming such a place at random as containing them, in this case, shews him rather unfortunate than conscious prescient, and that these attendants on every hermitage only accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of words and things.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this. My lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth hath concealed, and chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay be mentioned by a person by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it more criminal accidentally to name where bones lie, than accidentally to find where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but was this the cause, or was it the consequence of death—was it owing to violence, or was it the effect of natural decay? If it was by violence, was that violence before or after death? My lord, in May, 1732, the remains of William, lord archbishop of this province, were taken up, by permission, in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken; yet certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion the fracture there.

Let it be considered, my lord, that upon the dissolution of religious

houses, and the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times affected both the living and the dead. In search after imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up, graves and vaults dug open, monuments ransacked, and shrines demolished: your lordship knows that those violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them: and it did, about the reign of queen Elizabeth. I entreat your lordship to suffer not the violence, the depredations, and the iniquities of those times to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knaresborough had a castle, which, though now a ruin, was once considerable both for its strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament. At which siege, in sallies, conflicts, flights, pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell were buried: for every place, my lord, is burial earth in war; and many, unquestionless, of these rest yet unknown, whose bones futurity will discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in its fury may have done; what nature may have taken off, and piety interred; or what war alone may have destroyed, alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been raked together, I have nothing to observe; but that all circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet they are but probability still. Why need I name to your lordship the two Harrisons, recorded by Dr. Howell, who both suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance, of their lodger, who was in credit, and contracted debts, borrowed money, and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution. Why name the intricate affair of Jacques de Moulin under king Charles II. related by a gentleman who was council for the crown. And why the unhappy Coleman, who suffered innocently, though convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty. Why mention the perjury of Smith, incautiously admitted king's evidence? who, to screen himself, equally accused Fainloth and Loveday of the murder of Dunn; the first of whom in 1749, was executed at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of Gosport Hospital.

Now, my lord, having endeavoured to shew that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life; that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time; that no rational inference can be drawn, that a person is dead who suddenly disappears; that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse; that the proofs of this are well authenticated; that the revolutions of religion, or the fortune of war, mangled, or buried, the dead; the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for, I, at last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candour, the justice, and the humanity of your lordship, and upon yours, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury.

It might have been expected that the prisoner, in his defence, would have remarked upon Houseman's testimony, which certainly in many instances, lay open to him: but this defence was drawn up long before his trial, and he seems not ever to have entertained a suspicion of the fidelity of his confederate. The judge stated the evidence very particularly to the jury, and after having observed how the testimonies of the other deponents confirmed that of Houseman, he proceeded to remark upon Aram's defence, in order to shew that he alleged nothing that could invalidate the positive evidence against him.—Without leaving the court, the jury presently found the prisoner guilty. During the whole trial he behaved with great steadiness and decency. He heard his conviction and received his sentence with profound composure, and left the bar with a smile upon his countenance.

At the request of the Rev. Mr. Collins, of Knaresborough, who, by his own particular desire, attended him after his condemnation, Aram wrote the following short account of his family, and his life, sometime in the interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution.

Rev. Sir,—I always believed any relation of my life of no manner of importance or service to the public, and I never had either any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now, by persons of my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantage of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Netherdale, in 1704. My maternal relations had been substantial and reputable in that dale, for a great many generations: my father was of Nottinghamshire, a gardener of great abilities in botany, and an excellent draftsman. He served the right rev. the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton, with great approbation; which occasioned his being recommended to Newby, in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of a gardener, with much credit to himself, and satisfaction to that family, for above 30 years. Upon the decease of that baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, Bart. where he died; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally British. Their surname is local, for they were formerly lords of the town of Haram, or Aram, on the southern banks of the Tees, and opposite to Sockburn, in the bishopric of Durham: and appear in the records of St. Mary's at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors to that Abbey. They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts; and were settled under the fee of the Lords Mowbray, in Nottinghamshire, at Aram, or Aram Park, in the neighbourhood of Newark upon Trent, where they were possessed of no less than three knights' fees in the reign of Edward III. Their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the present Lord Lexington. While the name existed in this country, some of them were several times high sheriffs for this county; and one was professor of divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last of the chief of this family was Thomas Aram, Esq. some time of Gray's Inn, and one of the commissioners of the Salt-office, under the late queen Anne. He married one of the co-heiresses of Sir John Coningsby, of North-Mims, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be considered rather as ostentatious than pertinent; but the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to Skelton, near Newby, and thence at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school, where I was made capable of reading the testament, which was all I was ever taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the Rev. Mr. Alcock, of Burnsal.

After this, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett. It was here my propensity to literature first appeared; for being always of a solitary disposition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time was engaged in the mathematics; I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a great number of books in most branches, Kersey's Algebra, Leybourn's Cursus Mathematicus, Ward's young Mathematician's Guide, Harris's Algebra, and a great many more; but these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had studied before; I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination by Mr. Christopher Blackett, qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his counting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small-pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near a journey to Lon-

don, which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to those brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but began and prosecuted others of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: these were poetry, history, and antiquities, the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers and lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching.

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited into Netherdale, my native air, where I first engaged in a school, where I married, unfortunately enough for me; for the misconduct of the wife which that place afforded me, has procured me this place, this prosecution, this infamy, and this sentence.

During my marriage here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of the want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistible covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar: and selected Lily from the rest—all which I got and repeated by heart. The task of repeating it all every day, was impossible, while I attended the school, so I divided it into portions: by which method it was pronounced thrice every week—and this I performed for years.

Next, I became acquainted with Camden's Greek Grammar, which I also repeated in the same manner, from memory. Thus instructed, I entered upon the latin classics, whose allurements repaid my assiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at first, hung over five lines for a whole day; and never in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, but I did, or thought I did perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the latin classics, historians, and poets, I went through the Greek Testament; first, parsing every word as I proceeded; next I ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the Greek Tragedians;—a tedious labour this; but my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely; because it threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend, William Norton, Esq. came for me from Knaresborough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither; and accordingly I repaired thither in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there.—Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of the Hebrew, and with indefatigable diligence. I had Buxtorf's grammar; but that being perplexed or not explicit enough, at least in my opinion at that time, I collected no less than eight or ten different Hebrew grammars—and here one very often supplied the omissions of others; and this was, I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the bible in the original, and read the Pentateuch, with an intention to go through the whole of it, which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18th, 1744, I went again to the metropolis. (The reasons shall follow.) Here I agreed to teach the latin and writing, for the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly, which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me French; wherein I observed the pronunciation, the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never known a word of it; but this my continued application every night or other opportunity overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of French. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Some time after this I went to Hays, in the capacity of writing-master, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead; and staid, after that, with a worthy and rev. gentleman. I continued here between three and four years. I succeeded to several other places in the south of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the acts of parliament, to be registered in Chancery, and after went down to the free-school at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresborough to this period is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of history and antiquities, heraldry and botany; in the last of which I was very agreeably entertained, there being so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnæus, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden at Chelsea, and traced pleasure through a thousand fields: at last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this I ventured upon the

Chaldee and Arabic; and, with a design to understand them, supplied myself with Erpenius, Chapelhow, and others; but had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the Arabic; the Chaldee I found easy enough, because of its connection with the Hebrew.

I then investigated the Celtic, as far as possible, in all its dialects,—begun collections, and made comparisons between that, the English, the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew. I had many notes, and compared above three thousand of these together, and found such a surprising affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed through the whole of all these languages, and form a comparative lexicon, which I hoped would account for numberless vocables in use with us, the Romans and Greeks, before concealed and unobserved. This, or something like this, was the design of a clergyman of great erudition: but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that all the plate of Knaresborough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession; as for me, I had nothing at all. My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows that Terry's wife had some velvet, and if she will, can testify it. She deserves not the regard of the town if she will not.—That part of Houseman's evidence, wherein he said threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and far distant? I must need observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said, he went home from Clark—whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can also testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.

NOTE.—It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money Clark had received for his wife's fortune, viz. about £160., and there were strong circumstances to prove it; but it was thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.

Aram confessed the justness of his sentence to two clergymen, (who had a licence from the judge to attend him) by declaring that he murdered Clark. When he was called from bed, on the morning of his execution to have his irons taken off, he would not rise, alleging he was very weak. On examination his arm appeared bloody; and it was found that he had attempted to take away his own life, by cutting his arm in two places with a razor, which he had concealed. By proper applications he was brought to himself, and, though weak, was conducted to Tyburn, where being asked if he had any thing to say, he answered, No. Immediately after he was executed, and his body taken to Knaresborough Forest, and hung in chains.—On his table, in the cell, was found a paper, containing the following reasons for the above attempt:—

“What am I better than my fathers? To die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible of this, I fear no more to die than I did to be born. But the manner of it

is something which should, in my opinion, be decent and manly. I think I have regarded both these points. Certainly no body has a better right to dispose of man's life than himself; and he, not others, should determine how. As to any indignities offered to my body, or silly reflections on my faith and morals, they are, as they always were, things indifferent to me. I think, though contrary to the common way of thinking, I wrong no man by this, and hope it is not offensive to that Eternal Being that formed me and the world; and by this I injure no man, no man can be reasonably offended.— I solicitously recommend myself to the Eternal and Almighty Being, the God of Nature, if I have done amiss. But perhaps I have not; and perhaps this thing will never be imputed to me.— Though I am now stained with malevolence, and suffer by prejudice, I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was not polluted, my morals irreproachable, and my opinions orthodox.— I slept soundly till three o'clock, awak'd and writ these lines:—

“ Come pleasing rest, eternal slumber fall,
Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all;
Calm and compos'd, my soul her journey takes,
No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches;
Adieu! thou sun, all bright like her arise;
Adieu! fair friends, and all that's good and wise.”

These lines, with the foregoing, were supposed to be written by Aram just before he cut himself with the razor. Notwithstanding he pleads a sovereign right over himself, in vindication of this last horrid crime, and appears, at first view, actuated by honour and courage,— yet a little reflection will convince any one, his motive for such an inhuman deed was nothing more than the fear of shame.



